

THE NEOLITHIC IN TURKEY

NEW EXCAVATIONS & NEW RESEARCH

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ARCHAEOLOGY & ART PUBLICATIONS

The Boncuklu Project

The Origins of Sedentism, Cultivation and Herding in Central Anatolia

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The two major goals of the Boncuklu Project are firstly to document the appearance of sedentary, cultivating, and herding communities in Central Anatolia and thereby also develop more broadly based understandings of, and convincing explanations for, the early appearance of these phenomena in SW Asia and secondly to investigate the antecedents of Çatalhöyük, helping to explain its large size and distinctive symbolic practices. Current models of the development of the first sedentary, cultivating, and herding societies are derived largely from data sets and excavated evidence from the countries of the Levant. It is far from clear, in our state of relative ignorance, whether such explanations work in the rather different conditions pertaining on the Central Anatolian Plateau. Early sedentary and agricultural communities are present on the plateau, but currently very poorly documented, and it is not clear that the earliest cultivated plants were even present in the wild. Thus, we seek to determine whether indigenous foragers initiated the cultivation of local plants and herding of local species of animals or alternatively whether Central Anatolia witnessed an early phase in the spread of farming with the adoption of introduced cultivars and herded species by indigenous foragers or the appearance of colonising farming communities. Alternatively we might observe a mixture of such processes. The Central Anatolian case allows us to examine this issue closely.

As we argue below, it is likely that we have evidence for the spread of farming in Central Anatolia and its adoption by indigenous forager communities. There has been much debate about the nature of the spread of farming at a global level. A number of different models have been proposed to characterise this spread. Much debate still oscillates between polarised interpretations of colonising farmers and adoption of farming by indigenous foragers (e.g. Bellwood 2009). More nuanced models with elements of both are sometimes suggested (Zvelebil 2009: 701) but rarely empirically investigated. In this Anatolian case we can evaluate a clear instance of one set of mechanisms and go beyond the simple questions of large scale colonisation by migrant farmers or adoption by indigenous foragers, to give both a more nuanced perspective on the mechanisms involved in the spread of farming and evaluate what it meant for those caught up in and contributing to this process. We, thus, also seek to contribute to debates on the significance of the spread of farming.

The wetland-steppe mosaic provided by the Konya Plain in the 9th-8th millennia cal. BC (see below) might be considered a challenging environment for early farmers and herders. This lends especial interest to the study of the early appearance of farming in this area since it probably involved significant adaptation of farming practices to these environments and will allow us to study the significance of such adaptation for the dwelling and landscape practices of the Early Holocene communities concerned. These developing practices in turn may have been the key to enabling the further spread of farming across the Anatolian Peninsula.

THE LOCAL CONTEXT

In our project at the archaeological site of Pinarba 1 (see Pinarba 1 in this volume) in the Konya Plain of south central Turkey we revealed the first Late Pleistocene and also very Early Holocene settlements to be excavated on the Anatolian Plateau. This project revealed short term camp sites of highly mobile Epi-Paleolithic groups in a rock shelter with "broad spectrum" (Binford 1968: 332) hunting and fishing practice at the end of the Pleistocene at the beginning of the 9th millennium cal. BC on an open site at Pinarba 1, can be characterised as representing a sedentarising group, building dwellings for long term use and investing in other substantial fixtures. Intriguingly, current evidence suggests this sedentarising behaviour was founded on a distinctive combination of large mammal hunting and nut gathering. Here we use the term sedentarising, partly because early sedentism as defined as year round residence for several years is not possible to prove or disprove given limits to current methodologies and also because early sedentism is likely to have been a flexible strategy in which communities shifted back and forward along a spectrum of residential activity. We use the term sedentarising to suggest communities engaging in a spectrum of residential practices that could range from multi-seasonal and multi-year repeated occupation of a site, albeit falling short of year round multi-year occupation, to year round occupation for numbers of years/decades, perhaps with periodic abandonments. This emerging picture of sedentarisation in Central Anatolia thus challenges classic explanations for the development of sedentism elsewhere in SW Asia. In the Levant, Northern Mesopotamia, and the Zagros, sedentism is seen as either a response to an increasing range of dense stands of cereals and legumes in the Late Pleistocene - Early Holocene or founded on a "broad spectrum" strategy favoured in lacustrine and maritime settings. Given Pinarba 1's 9th millennium cal. BC lacustrine setting the lack of broad spectrum evidence is particularly intriguing. Recently obtained dates suggest that Pinarba 1 may have been occupied even into the beginning of the 8th millennium cal. BC, but then we would see it as a hunter-gatherer community alongside agricultural settlements like Aşıklı in Cappadocia.

The Pinarba 1 project has brought into sharp relief two outstanding sets of issues. Whilst the Pinarba 1 project has provided insights into previously undocumented Epi-Paleolithic occupation of the Anatolian Plateau and the development of sedentism in Central Anatolia, it has provided no direct evidence for the appearance of cultivating and herding communities in Central Anatolia. It has raised a number of intriguing possibilities in this regard. Firstly, it may be that hunter-gatherer communities like those at Pinarba 1 adopted cultivation and then herding in the marsh, steppe, and mountain fringe of the Anatolian Plateau. They may have domesticated local species or imported them from the southeast. Alternatively, intrusive farming communities may have introduced cultivation and herding, or a combination of all these processes may have operated. We know that cultivation is documented in the first half of the 8th millennium cal. BC at Aşıklı in Cappadocia (Asouti and Fairbairn 2002: 184) and thus also probably the later 9th millennium and that by the late 8th millennium cal. BC on the Konya Plain the earliest levels of the famous large site of Catalhöyük, (9.5 km from the site of Boncuklu), show caprine herding as well (Martin et al. 2002: 199). In addition Buikstra suggests distinctive pre-domestication sheep management may have been practised by Aşıklı inhabitants, and Martin, Russell and Carruthers (Martin et al. 2002: 197) concur. Clearly on the Konya Plain the period of the 9th and 8th millennia cal. BC is the key to documenting the appearance of cultivation and herding in Central Anatolia.

In addition, certain aspects of the Pmarba, evidence for the 9th millennium cal. BC suggest further work is required to understand and confirm the nature of developments of early sedentarising communities in this millennium. Given the specific location of Pmarba, next to marsh and lake and the possibility that the Pmarbas, community also operated in other areas of plain or mountains For part of the year, it is possible that this or other communities on the Konya Plain incorporated cereal gathering or cultivation into their subsistence strategies during the 9th millennium. One cannot understand a community like that at Pmarba, in isolation. The investigation of another 9th millennium settlement thus provides a more conclusive indication of a full range of plant exploitation strategies on the Konya Plain. This is essential in order to confirm the different path to sedentism that we are currently positing For Central Anatolia.

In our British Institute at Ankara-sponsored Konya Plain Survey Project in 2001 we discovered the site of Boncuklu. The site was also surveyed by Hasan Bahar of Sel uk University, Konya (Bahar and Koyak 2004: 14). This is a classic *lioyiik* (mudbrick settlement mound) standing 2 m above current plain level (Fig. 2) and covering an area over 1 ha (Fig. 1). Intensive surface collection revealed lithics and specific decorated stone artifacts exactly like those at Pmarbas,, as well as 8th millennium cal. BC and Late Aceramic Neolithic chipped stone like earliest <:::atalhoyi!.lk and Can Hasan 111. In short this site has a stratified sequence contained within classic *hoyiik* mudbrick contexts that spans the 9th and 8th millennia cal. BC and should thus address issues raised by Pmarba\$1about the sedentarisation of communities in Central Anatolia in the 9th and appearance of cultivation and herding in the 9th and 8th millennia cal. BC and hints this might represent the transformation of indigenous communities. In addition, the fact that the site is 9,5 km from c:::atalhoyi!.ik and may be an immediate predecessor will allow us to address the antecedents of <:::atalhoyi!.ik and in particular the origins of the elaborate symbolic behaviours for which the site is so well known.

Indeed such a situation allows us to investigate factors involved in the florescence of elaborate symbolic imagery that typifies the Neolithic of SW Asia. In particular we can investigate how closely this might be related to sedentarising behaviour and to the appearance of cultivation and/or the development of herding since the Boncuklu sequence promises to allow us to inspect closely the inter-relationships between these phenomena. <:::atalhoyuk is often cited as the classic example of the appearance of elaborate symbolic behaviours in early village communities, albeit intensely expressed because of its scale. Elaborate symbolism at c:::atalhoyuk has been ascribed to an intensification of social and material interactions and mediation of those interactions occasioned by unusual degrees of proximity and longevity of "households" in an exceptionally large settlement (Redman 1978: 186). In addition, it has been suggested that such symbolism and imagery may be an attempt to comprehend and incorporate a wider world framed by the creation of the domestic realms of village life and farming (Hodder 2003: 131; Hodder 2005: 1J-14) with oppositions between domestic and wild and a hunting/feasting/prowess ideology (Hodder 2006). c:::atalhoyuk is both unusually large and relatively late in the emergence of farming. The ideal context in which to investigate the development of this phenomenon would be at a community that represents a direct predecessor to c:::atalhoyuk and a site that incorporates a sequence spanning the appearance of sedentism, cultivation, and herding in the area, namely Boncuklu.

We can legitimately ask whether the intensity of the employment of symbolism and imagery in the domestic context might relate to the character of social networks at *\.atalhoyUk*. At their most extensive, Dunbar (Dunbar 2003: 1712) has indicated social networks consist of ca. 150 individuals. In this sense social networks indicate the group of individuals with which a particular person can maintain relatively strong on-going social relationships, involving memories of regular transactions with those individuals (Dunbar 2003: 172). Defining limits to social networks in this sense, in and between modest villages of ca. 100-300 people, may well have been a simple practice. To do so in villages of several thousand must have involved distinct forms of networks, with new modes of building and defining such. How quickly did sedentary communities exceed this threshold and how closely did symbolic expression relate to either large or densely occupied communities? Where better to approach such questions than in the predecessors to *atalhoyUk*?

HISTORY OF WORK

The three week 2006 season at Boncuklu was intended as a site evaluation season as well as an opportunity to establish infrastructure at the site for our ten year project. The season involved detailed topographic survey, intensive surface collection of artifacts and ecofacts, surface scraping, section cutting, and soundings. Three 5 x 5 m areas were scraped (Areas H, K, and M) and in 2 cases excavated (Fig. 1). In all cases 9th/8th millennium material was found immediately below disturbed surface deposits. Area X was a section excavated down through deposits adjacent to the bulldozed SW edge of the mound (fig. 1) to get a sense of the nature of the sequence of archaeological deposits. This work and discussions with local villagers revealed the degree of threat to the site; the whole surface of the site had been subject to bulldozing, removing Early Bronze Age deposits and probably the uppermost Neolithic deposits. The site was obviously under significant threat and our intervention and fencing of the site has reduced that threat significantly.

In 2007-2009 we continued and expanded the excavations of Areas H, K and M. Area H grew to ca. 16 x 11 m; K grew to ca. 6,5 x 7 m; Area M to ca. 5,5 x 7 m. We also surface scraped two additional areas, Area N which was 14 x 4 m and Area O, ca. 5 m to the south of Area K, located in the same bulldozed track as K (Fig. 1). Area O was 10,7 x 7 m. In addition Eleni Asouti and Richard Chiverrell (both University of Liverpool) commenced geoarchaeological work around the site funded by the British Academy. We excavated Area Y ca. 10 m from the SW, bulldozed, edge of the surviving mound (Fig. 1) to investigate off-site activity and natural sediment deposition that might inform on contemporary environments around the prehistoric mound. Asouti and Chiverrell cored sediments around the mound, sediments in the Hotam, lake bed, sadly now dry year-round, and inspected and sampled a series of fan deposits on the edge of the slopes of the Bozdag hills to the north of the site and the north of the *\.ar amba* fan on which Boncuklu is located. Whilst the *ar amba* fan has been the object of significant geomorphological study, these northern areas have not. This work should add significantly to later Pleistocene and Holocene paleo-environmental reconstructions.

SURFACE COLLECTION AND CHRONOLOGY UP OCCUPATION

The surface artefact collections confirmed that the site was occupied minimally from late 9th through 8th millennium cal. BC and, therefore, will allow us to investigate the ques-

tions outlined above. In addition this material was abundant over the whole surface, so these periods are readily accessible over most of the mound, also indicated by the scraped squares, cleaned sections, and soundings. In particular this surface collection and scraping yielded microlith-dominant assemblages across the whole surface of the mound. This demonstrated that settlement on the mound had already reached maximum extent during earlier phases of Neolithic occupation, when microliths were dominant in these assemblages, probably later 9th and earlier 8th millennia cal. BC.

SITE LOCATION

We were able to excavate a section through the edge of the site where it had been terraced into for the creation of a field plot. In this Area (X) (Fig. 1) 9th/8th millennium cal. BC deposits had been disturbed by a series of later burials, probably Byzantine, themselves disturbed by the bulldozing to create the field. However, this section made it clear that the site had been established on a marl rise that would have been advantageous in terms of both views across the Early Holocene plain and in living in the potentially marshy surround that previous geoarchaeological, faunal, and paleobotanical indicators suggest for the Early Holocene in this area (Boyer et al. 2006) and that paleobotanical and faunal data from Boncuklu itself are now starting to confirm. Obviously close future study of paleobotany, micro-fauna, and fauna as well as further geoarchaeological investigations will help confirm this landscape reconstruction.

AREA M

The earliest and indeed most of the deposits so far exposed in Area M, consist of thick midden deposits (Fig. 3). The evidence suggests open air accumulation of organic material, dumped onto the undulating surfaces of the growing midden, with occasional rain wash layers and phytolith surfaces, where deposition stopped for very short periods. Within the midden were in situ burning events and small stone hearths (Fig. 4) showing that some midden deposit derived from activity within this area. The midden contained dense quantities of animal bone, including an aurochs horn core, carbonised and silicified plant remains, and artefacts. Notable were parts of at least two, possibly more, elongated boat-shaped plaster vessels. One appears to have been dumped in the midden, although the second might have been used in situ. Jessica Pearson identified fragmentary human remains recovered from the midden, at the moment largely skull material, confirmed by a human jaw in the midden in Area H. This pattern, whilst provisional, probably involved not just the redeposition of disturbed burials, but given the under-representation of post-cranial human remains, rather suggests distinctive treatment of human skulls in areas outside buildings, and their eventual fragmentation, deliberate or otherwise in these middens.

Sitting on top of, and probably contemporary with, the latest excavated phases of this midden was a light structure, feature 1 (F 1). The structure was delimited on its west by a flimsy mudbrick kerb or wall, consisting of a curving line of single bricks on edge, enclosing a thick accumulation of many fine layers of floor surfaces (Fig. 5) composed of a very silty, but very compact and dark plaster material, rather different from the floors of buildings we understand to be habitations in Areas K and H. These floors of F 1 were bounded on their east by a straight narrow north-south slot (9 cm wide) (Fig. 5) with stakeholes at its

base, probably the foundation cut for a light organic screen wall. This presumably consisted of an upright core of reeds that may have had wattle type construction and possibly mud/clay added to this. We certainly have evidence of clay structural material bearing reed impressions within the midden deposits. Thus we have a structure showing repeated long-term use but with relatively thin walls or boundaries. The floors had a number of post-holes, pits, and stakeholes within them (Fig. 5), suggesting many wooden elements within this structure, and frequent repositioning of such elements. This structure seems likely to have been roofed; otherwise, the thin, silty floors would not have survived. It is not currently possible to say whether this is a dwelling or another type of building, or indeed an enclosed and roofed work platform/area. At the moment the latter seems more likely given the flimsy character and variable characteristics of the eastern and western boundaries.

An intriguing feature of site formation processes at Boncuklu is the extensive nature of these types of midden deposits found in M. They were also present and extensive in Areas H, in scraped Areas N and O, in Area X and in other areas of the site where sections were eroding and observable including the 17 m section cleaned along the edge of Areas N/K. This extensive distribution of midden deposits is a notable contrast with the site of [atalh5yUk](#) where, of course, middens are circumscribed and contained within abandoned house lots. This and the structure in M suggest very different living practices compared to [atalhoyi.k](#). These middens thus seem rather different from those accumulating in vacant building lots at [atalhi:iyi.k](#) and with the work platform indicate rather different uses of settlement space and waste disposal practices to those seen at [atalhoyOk](#), discussed further below.

AREA K

In Area K a small track had been bulldozed into the site by villagers, and in what is, therefore, in terms of the sequence for this part of the site, an earlier phase of activity we exposed a sequence of curvilinear, essentially ellipsoidal, mudbrick buildings ca. 3 m wide and 5 m long. There were 6 buildings reconstructed one atop the other in Area K. From earliest to latest we have named these Building 2, 9, 7, 3, B1.I and I3 1.2 (Fig 1).

Building 2

The earliest building so far identified in Area K is B 2. This is an oval structure, with only the northern mudbrick wall currently visible. This building remains unexcavated. In the sections of later burials distinctive clay-walled features can be observed in this building. These may be ovens or storage bins.

Building 9

Building 9 replaced B 2 which was dismantled and cut into for the creation of B 9. B 9 is preserved only as floors as later buildings cut away the foundation trench and any walls of this structure. Nevertheless the floors are well preserved. A major division existed between different areas of the floors of this building, which we now see as a typical pattern of structured floor use in other buildings. The eastern two thirds of the building are distinguished by relatively flat, hard white marl plaster surfaces. A distinct lip demarcated a sunken set of noors in the northwestern third of this building. The northwestern floors undulated

and preserved areas of occupation deposit. This northwestern area of less even and thinner flooring contained a hearth in the northwestern part of the building. The hearth was surrounded by large stakeholes and small postholes and a distinct concentration of small annular features showing concentric plastered rings within them, which may be stakeholes or drip holes perhaps from rain entering the edge of the smoke hole above the hearth. The hearth was oval and sloped to the southeast. In places it was lined with flat smooth river pebble. A shallow sloping Aue led from the west into the hearth. We should thus see these northwestern areas of buildings at least partly as cooking and food preparation areas.

Burial 12 cut into a later floor of B 9. In this was buried a 50+ male, an articulated crouched inhumation lying on its left side, head propped against the northern end of the oval burial cut. It was squeezed into the cut which had probably been kept relatively small for the size of the body to reduce later floor slumping into the cut.

Building 7

There were traces of a building post-dating 8 9 to the south of the later buildings in K. B 7 thus consisted largely of northward-sloping floors that overlapped the earlier 8 9 floors. Notable about the e was a depression in their northwestern area which may have preserved part of one of our northwestern cooking spaces. Also notable was a very large posthole in these floors in the southwestern area of K near other large posts in this area. A single large post in the southwest seems to have been a repeated feature of the sequence of buildings in K. Most of B 7 was cut away by B 3.

Building 3

Building 3 was another oval building a minimum of 3,6 m wide southwest to northeast and a minimum of 5 m long northwest to southeast. The northern wall and floor edges do not survive. However the cut for the building survives along the southern edge of the structure. We thus know that the building was cut down into earlier deposits and the cut lined with plaster. There were no mudbrick walls at the foundation level of this building in contrast with preceding B 2 and succeeding B 1.1 and B 1.2. Mudbricks were probably used in the above-ground superstructure. This does, however, underline the architectural variety apparent in these buildings even in what are reconstructions of what is essentially the same building.

As with earlier B 7, posts were located in the southern area of the building. There were 4 cuts in this area, broadly contemporary. Three were approximately the same size, features 32, 33 and 36. The fourth and the largest feature, F 4, may be a small pit; it contained an unusual concentration of chipped stone material. There were no matching posts in the northern part of the structure. It seems plausible then that whilst fulfilling a structural role these posts were not required to be as massive as they were and may well also have had a symbolic significance, perhaps as with later Catalhoyi.ik posts.

As with B 9 the hearth was located in the northwestern part of the building in exactly the same spot as earlier hearths. This largely consisted of an oval cut, somewhat larger than earlier hearths with a distinct ashy fill.

The final preserved act within this building was the cutting of a grave for a perinatal/neonate, Grave 10. The building seems quickly to have been replaced after this,

as no floor covered the grave, and the bricks for the foundation walls of the replacement building, B 1.1, were placed against the plaster face of B 3 and over the grave n11 and cut of Grave 10.

Buildings 1.1 and 1.2

The latest structures in this sequence were 2 distinct buildings (Fig. 6) which maintained a very similar plan, the earliest of which used the shell of B 3. In this first building, B 1.1, a single row of mudbricks formed its exterior wall. In a major reconstruction, B 1.2, a second mudbrick wall was added to the interior face of the first. B 1.2 seems to have had at least one entrance in the southeast end of the structure. This was indicated by the way the wall and floor plaster curved around the bricks at that end of the preserved southern segment of wall and the presence of a small post socket set in the plaster surface at the butt end of the wall (Fig. 6), at least in the B 1.2 building. This suggests that, whilst the building was probably below contemporary external surfaces, entry was not through the roof in contrast to A 1kh and atalhoYok. The B 1.1 building had undergone many flooring episodes with a minimum of five major replasterings of the floor. At least two plaster floors were present with the wall of B 1.2. Micromorphological study of thin section soil blocks taken from various points within the structure by Wendy Matthews of University of Reading will help us understand the creation, use, and sequence of floors and we expect this to reveal additional plastering events.

Near the south wall of B 1.1 were 2 small post holes for wooden posts, features 34 and 35 (Fig. 7), that had been inserted and removed at different points in the various reconstruction and flooring episodes. These two final posts, however, had gone out of use before the final floors of this building were laid, as they had been filled with plaster plugs and plastered over by these final floors.

In the northwest of B 1.1 was a circular hearth, which was retained in this location through the life of the structure, although it was reduced in size and in later phases had a plaster kerb around its edge (Fig. 8). This hearth continued in use into B 1.2. Cross weave mats in tabby weave technique, as at atalhoYilk, and preserved as phytolith (Wendrich 2005: 336), were sitting on the final preserved floor in the centre of the building (Figs. 6, 9) and may have belonged to either B 1.1 or B 1.2. An oval area of floor slumping in the southern part of B 1.1 (Fig. 6) marked the presence of underlying Grave 12.

Whilst the south wall and most of the floor plaster was undecorated, the final floor adjacent to the north wall of B 1.2 was painted an orange-red, as was the base of the wall in this area (Fig. 6). The base of a plaster installation was also exposed (Figs. 6, 10), attached to the north wall, and this too had been painted red. This belongs to the latest phase in the use of B 1.2. It showed evidence of a minimum of four major replastering episodes, in which the plaster modelled relief on the floor and against the north wall underwent major refurbishment and reshaping. Each of these phases saw numerous new plaster layers coating the feature, each completely painted with what was usually an orange-red paint. Because the bulldozer that created the track and allowed us to identify this building so quickly had sliced away some, probably a large amount, of this feature, the earliest phase we exposed gives us the best idea of this feature. There are no obvious zoomorphic or anthropomorphic elements; rather, a series of curving protrusions flank a particularly elongated

gated projecting ridge (Fig. 10). This last might be seen to have phallic aspects but other interpretations are certainly possible.

Summary of Buildings in Area K

These buildings suggest intriguing contrasts, but also very significant continuities with the κ atalhoyuk structures. Firstly, as at κ atalhoyuk and A 1kh, building continuity is very apparent with the continuous reconstruction of essentially the same house on the same spot, presumably over a minimum of a century and probably two. In addition, the use of floor space seems very structured and to show continuities similar to that of the house itself. In particular, the northwestern area seems to have been the "dirty" kitchen area, usually demarcated in some fashion by changes in character of the floor plaster, by the fact the area around the hearth was slightly sunken below the other area of floor, by the accumulation of organic waste materials, probably from hearth "rake-out", that are much more ephemeral in southeastern areas. The southeastern areas were for other daily practices, social activities, and symbolic ritual practice.

Whilst these are curvilinear buildings belonging to a curvilinear architectural tradition typical of the earlier Neolithic and showing evidence of ground level entry to the building, in contrast to κ atalhoyuk, the presence of plaster installations and painting—specifically on the north wall, the focus for decoration on the walls at κ atalhoyuk—clearly suggests continuities between Boncuklu and κ atalhoyuk. Further burials are in the higher, cleaner southeastern area of the buildings along with probably symbolically significant posts. In short, the antecedents of the symbolism and structured space use, expressed in the κ atalhoyuk houses was present many centuries earlier and also is quite independent of the specifics of the particular roof entry rectilinear architectural tradition of κ atalhoyuk. However, their precise disposition was different. Our excavations will certainly allow us to approach the question of the antecedents of the complex symbolic practices at κ atalhoyuk.

At the same time very considerable contrasts seem apparent with broadly contemporary curvilinear structures at Pmarba, both in terms of construction and degree of elaboration and this variability will prove a fruitful source of insight into late 9th - early 8th millennium cal. BC communities in the area, their possible interactions, and the inter-relationships between these settlement foci.

AREA H

Area K was not the only part of the settlement with a sequence of such buildings. In Area H we exposed a sequence of at least 3 buildings, B 8, B 5, and B 4. These clearly cut into each other but currently we are less clear that they directly replace each other. As with the Area K sequence, architectural construction style varies significantly. B 8 consisted of a building with mudbrick walls set into a cut. B 5, which cut B 8, survives as a relatively high oval plaster lined cut. B 4 which is probably later than B 5 has curvilinear mudbrick and mud walls. Patterns of use of these buildings repeat some elements seen in the B 2, B 9, B 7, B 3, H 1.1 and B 1.2 sequence. There are indications from floor slumping in some of these Area H buildings of sub-floor burials. In the north of a building probably pre-dating B 5 is a plastered basin or platform that has areas of red ochre adjacent to it; in this case red ochre material seems to be mixed with the floor make up, as opposed to painted on

the plaster as in B 1.2. There are also contrasts. In B 4, the latest in the sequence, the hearth, which saw repeated use and construction in the same area, and surrounding poor-quality dirty floors are in the southwest rather than northwest of the building, perhaps foreshadowing types of space use seen at Catalhöyük.

AREA O

To the south of B 1.1 and 1.2 and Area K we were able to continue our surface scraping and carry out some section cutting to investigate the distribution of buildings and other features more widely on the site. Area O was 10.7 x 7 m and revealed extensive spreads of prehistoric midden in large cuts but no evidence for Neolithic structures. Some of these deposits should be contemporary with the B 2 to B 1.2 sequence.

OFF-SITE WORK

A series of off-site paleoenvironmental research activities was undertaken by Eleni Asouti and Richard Chiverrell (both of University of Liverpool).

Trench Y

One of these involved the excavation of Trench Y ca. 30 m southwest of the bulldozed edge of the Boncuklu mound (Fig. 1). This revealed a ca. 1.3 m depth of alluvium overlying a flat gravelly surface, created in Byzantine or later times. This surface in turn overlies the natural marl. This seems to be the base of a terrace, external surface, or channel. This Byzantine or post-Byzantine gravelly surface sealed pits excavated into the marl with only obsidian, animal bone, and diagnostic Neolithic artefacts within them. These may be later 8th millennium cal. BC off-site pits cut into the natural marl. Further investigation is required to be certain of the dating and possible function of these pits.

ANIMAL REMAINS

Preliminary studies of the fauna remain by Louise Martin (University College London) and Caroline Middleton (University of Liverpool) indicate a considerable diversity of animals exploited. So far, approximately 10,000 animal bone remains have been identified from Areas K, M, and H, although intensive fragmentation renders a high proportion that are undiagnostic beyond size, with only 740 (80%) so far identifiable to genus/species. Table 1 shows NISP (Number of Identified Specimens) counts for large mammals from all excavation areas combined, with the majority from Area M.

In general, the Boncuklu assemblage contains high numbers of birds, fish, and tortoises, which contrasts with the nearby site of Catalhöyük (Martin et al. 2002; Russell and Meece 2005), where these categories were minor. Future study of tortoise remains aims to show whether they represent food remains or were perhaps natural deposits, or whether tortoise carapaces were used as artifacts or for their shell.

Mammal remains, too, are in contrast with the caprine-dominant patterns from Catalhöyük; instead, Boncuklu shows higher numbers of cattle and boar/pig. Larger samples are required to establish the domestic/wild status of these taxa through morphomet-

rics, although it can perhaps be assumed that cattle represent the wild *Bos primigenius*. heep and goat are present in small numbers (2 bones are identified to each taxon, 9 to Ovis/Capra), and again, their status is yet to be determined. Equids and cervids (red deer or fallow) are also found as hunted animals, and with the rest of the mammalian assemblage show that there was a mosaic of habitats exploited, including wetlands, grasslands, and woodlands. The *Canis* sp. remains are intriguing, in that two elements are very large and signify wolf rather than domestic dog. In addition, there is an absence of gnawing or carnivore digestion signatures on any of the Boncuklu faunal remains, raising the question as to whether domestic dogs were present at the site.

ANIMAL TAXA	NISP
Cattle (<i>Bos primigenius</i>)	102
Equid (<i>E. caballus</i> , <i>E. hemionus/hydruntinus</i>)	17
Large Cervid (<i>Cervus elaphus/Dama dama</i>)	5
Fallow Deer (<i>Dama dama</i>)	8
Boar/Pig (<i>Sus scrofa</i>)	97
Sheep/Goat (<i>Ovis/Capra</i>)	9
Sheep (<i>Ovis</i> sp.)	2
Goat (<i>Capra</i> sp.)	2
Wolf/Dog (<i>Canis lupus/Canis familiaris</i>)	12
Fox (<i>Vulpes vulpes</i>)	8
Hare (<i>Lepus capensis</i>)	J
TOTAL	265

Table I. The Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) of large mammal bones from Boncuklu, resulting from preliminary study.

There are also large numbers of fish, bird, amphibian, and tortoise bones which are under study and are not included here.

PLANT REMAINS

The carbonised seed assemblage is studied and reported on by Dr Andrew Fairbairn of University of Queensland. Intensive flotation of 50-1000 of all excavated Neolithic sediments has produced assemblages of charred seeds and other plant macrofossils. Though dark ashy inclusions are common in the site's deposits they are made up of mostly small fragmented remains (<2mm diameter). Seed abundance varies widely, but large assemblages of >400 items per excavation unit are present. However, wood charcoals are not abundant and thus the overall density of plant remains - that is, the mass of remains per unit of soil excavated - was correspondingly low, especially in relation to the site. Individual seed remains were often well preserved, with surfaces glossy and intact, which would not be expected should post-depositional erosion, through water percolation and/or biological action, have been a significant influence on the assemblage. Perhaps pre-depositional factors were a more significant taphonomic factor than post-depositional history. It is possible that burning practice at the site generated a small quantity of charred remains, or debris disposal was undertaken in such a way to bias against incorporation of charred

plant remains in the site's deposits. Either way, the taphonomic history of samples seems to vary from the site at (atalhoyuk and further investigation may offer insights into variations in fuel use and burning practice through the Neolithic.

Crop plants are preserved in the site's deposits, including the familiar Neolithic founder crops emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*), possibly einkorn (*Triticum monococcum/boeoticum*), free-threshing wheat (*Triticum aestivum/durum* or similar types) and hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare/distichum*). Large-seeded legumes were present but preservation is such that it is unclear whether they are domestic. Verified crops were present in 230/o of the samples from well-stratified units analysed so far. In general, crops were preserved in small quantities, except in the upper site levels where several samples contained large quantities of free-threshing wheat remains, including rachis internodes, but we consider the possibility of contamination of these deposits at the top of the Neolithic stratigraphy is significant, so the chronological status of the free-threshing wheat remains open.

Nuts and fruits were also represented at the site. Fruit stones of hackberry were common, if not found in the super-abundance that characterise c;atalhoyuk and Can Hasan III (French et al. 1972; Fairbairn et al. 2005). This species produce naturally calcareous fruit stones that are preserved well in non-acidic strata and are a signature plant of the Central Anatolian Neolithic (Asouti and Fairbairn 2002). They were accompanied by fragments of terebinth (*Pistacia* sp.) and wild almond, which on the basis of endocarp morphology came from *Amygdalus orientalis/graeca* (Martinoli and Jacomet 2004).

The non domestic seed flora contained a wide range of species. Wetland taxa, including *Bolboschoenus maritimus*, *Carex* sp., *Eleocharis* sp. and Characeae (identified by their spores), were common, alongside grasses, including *Alopecurus* sp. and *Bromus* sp., as well as common ruderal taxa including *Adonis* sp., *Atriplex* sp., *Gnaphalium* sp. and various Caryophyllaceae. As ever in the Central Anatolian Neolithic, siliceous nutlets of the *Boraginaceae* family were found in large quantities. Preserved whether charred or uncharred, they may represent some form of arable weed, or more likely simply plants growing around the site. Interestingly, grassy taxa that are common at (atalhoyuk and are strongly associated with crops, such as *Eremopyrum* sp. and *Taeniatherum caput-medusae*, are absent. This was accompanied by widespread fragments of *Bolboschoenus maritimus* tubers, identified using scanning electron microscopy, and numerous fragments of stem from a member of the grass family (*Gramineae*), including large fragments that may derive from reed (*Phragmites australis*).

Overall, the macrofossil remains from Boncuklu demonstrate the community was using crop species, though the remains are not abundant. A possible arable weed flora is present, but is not as diverse and clearly defined as at c;atalhoyuk and-with the crop information itself-suggests less focus on crop use at Boncuklu. The crops were used among a suite of wild plant species that are familiar highly-ranked probable foods, such as terebinth, hackberry, and almond. The status of other seed and tuber finds are uncertain in this regard though both the *Bolboschoenus* tuber and wild seeds in general have been claimed as wild foods elsewhere (Wollstonecroft and Erkal 1999; Savard et al. 2006). Wetland plants are a notable feature. The assemblages contain many of the same taxa as c;atalhoyuk, but the overall assemblage composition and density of material is quite different, suggesting at the very least a different taphonomic history, perhaps including a different range of burning and depo-

sitional practices for ashy material. Whether taphonomic differences are the cause of the lower visibility of crops at Boncuklu remains to be determined. Detailed research continues to confirm and expand on these preliminary statements.

The preliminary study of the plant and animal remains indicate we will be able to address questions about temporality of occupation, subsistence practices, and the appearance of plant cultivation and animal herding in the Konya Basin and will make very interesting comparison with the *atalhöyük* sequence. The implication of this initial evidence are explored below.

ARTIFACTS

The chipped stone assemblage was dominated by obsidian. Anne Pirie (University of Reading) indicates much of the material actually excavated is broadly similar to the Pınarbaşı late 9th millennium cal. BC assemblage with many microliths, with the very similar morphological attributes, elongated scalene triangles being particularly common, but there are potentially very interesting subtle distinctions with the T-*marbaşı* assemblage. In addition in later contexts large projectile points typical of the later 8th millennium cal. BC have been recovered (Fig. 12).

Perhaps the most notable artefact category is a series of incised decorated stones (Figs. 13, 15). Many of these are stones with a polished groove, tools traditionally interpreted as shaft straighteners but which may have served a range of functions. However, not all decorated stones are such tools; others have narrower incisions and polished working surfaces suggesting polishing and cutting functions additional to that of shaft straighteners, and others do not seem to be tools at all. A very wide range of complex designs is featured and these include some more naturalistic examples. Fig. 13 is the most complex and has variously been interpreted as representing one or more human figures or possibly a deer head. Indeed, it is possible it was carved to be perceived in a number of ways simultaneously. Such items were also found at Pınarbaşı 1, where in four seasons of field work seven 9th millennium cal. BC items were found; at Boncuklu in two seasons we have found over 30. Stone and shell beads were common, as are pendants; an elaborately decorated example of the latter has also been found (Fig. 14). Marine shells were commonly used for beads including the species most common at 9th millennium Pınarbaşı, namely *Nassarius*. Bone tools were relatively common and included part of a toggle.

Many clay objects were found, especially in the middens, a number of which are geometrics but others appear to be derived from the sealing of organic materials or containers. These promise to provide insights into possible early accounting and sealing practices.

This brief summary clearly indicates the potential of the site for dealing with both the questions of the appearance of sedentary, cultivating, and herding communities in Central Anatolia but also the antecedents of *atalhöyük*. In this last regard the evidence of both very significant contrasts and continuities with *atalhöyük* will be extremely informative.

CONCLUSIONS

A number of questions arise concerning the nature of the occupation we have documented at Boncuklu. These are partly prompted by an intriguing mixture of contrasts and sim-

ilarities with the site of Pmarba 1. Currently we are unable to say whether Boncuklu is precisely contemporary with the occupation at Pmarba 1, albeit the chipped stone assemblages from excavated deposits are very similar, so a degree of contemporaneity of the earlier Boncuklu phases with Pmarba 1 seems highly likely. In understanding the two sites we may thus have to consider a scenario of 1) seasonal occupations of the two sites by the same community, where variability may relate to different lengths of stay and to seasonally and locationally adjusted dwelling practice, or 2) we may be dealing with differing contemporary communities, and 3) there may also be significant diachronic developments. Most probably a mixture of these factors operated.

Major questions remain to be resolved about the residential stability of occupations at Pmarba 1 and Boncuklu. Clearly both sites represent significant commitments to-or choices to remain in-the settlement locales over a minimum of several centuries, which can be characterised as "sedentarising" behaviour. Oval structures and deposition of human remains seem present at both, representing significant investment in these locales. Whilst at Pmarba 1 there was evidence of a number of structures, there were also areas of unbounded midden with dumps from cooking installations which are reminiscent of some elements of the Boncuklu midden build-ups. Also at Boncuklu habitation structures appear in low densities with extensive areas of midden. In contrast to Pmarba 1, Boncuklu buildings are constructed of mudbrick. Seasonality indications remain to be resolved, especially in regard to the Boncuklu evidence. Notably, Boncuklu buildings show evidence for repeated reconstruction of buildings in the same setting, to a degree not indicated at Pmarba 1, suggesting continuous or quasi-continuous use of buildings over many decades. The longevity of the Boncuklu settlement is also underlined by the fact it seems to continue into the Late Aceramic Neolithic.

A further contrast is the presence of cultivated cereals at Boncuklu. The strong similarities between the Pmarbas, and Boncuklu chipped stone assemblage, with their microlithic character, suggest a local Epi-Paleolithic tradition continuing into the Early Holocene, unlike areas to the south and east. This indicates that the Boncuklu community was representative of indigenous communities operating on the plain. Given the Boncuklu evidence it is likely that this community adopted non-indigenous cultivars from communities to the east and south. This is strongly supported by the absence of wild ancestor of wheat and barley at Pmarba 1, and presence of domestic emmer wheat at Boncuklu. Domestic emmer is first widespread in the Early PPNB period ca. 8500-8100 cal. BC in the Levant and Southeast Anatolia (Garrard 1999: 77-78, tab. 4). It is likely that some communities like that at Pmarba 1, were involved in the adoption of cultivation in Central Anatolia. If there is contemporaneity between Boncuklu and Pmarba 1, we will have an intriguing scenario of some communities involved in the adoption of cultivation and others maintaining more traditional or indeed developing alternative lifestyles in different settings alongside these early farming communities. In this scenario different paths to sedentism and agriculture may be posited within the same overall settings. These scenarios are very different from those posited recently by Colledge and her colleagues (Colledge et al. 2004: 42) of an influx of migrant farmers arriving as significant-sized communities in Central Anatolia. As indicated in the chapter on Pmarba 1, (see Pmarba 1, in this volume) such a process of a spread of cultivars may well have been aided by networks of interaction going back millennia and probably involved the movement of individuals and small groups, some of which may even have been

farmers moving to settle. However, knowledgeable wetland exploiters seem to have been the ones to introduce farming to the wetland setting of the Early Holocene Konya Plain. Here we clearly have evidence for a distinctive mode in the spread of farming and are uniquely placed to investigate transformations in forager communities adopting cultivation from their neighbours, something rarely achieved in the archaeological record. We will thus be able to add significantly to understandings of the spread of farming into Europe.

Currently it is difficult to discuss the question of the appearance of herding in the Boncuklu sequence because faunal samples remain limited in size and contextual range, and data collection and analysis is at a provisional stage. Whether local wild sheep were herded, or herded sheep introduced to the Konya Plain, and whether this occurred in the Boncuklu sequence is yet to be conclusively investigated. Some of the hunting and trapping interests represented at Pınarbaşı 1, especially in birds in wetland settings, seem well attested at Boncuklu. At Boncuklu, like Pınarbaşı 1, aurochs was the most important hunted species, especially in terms of meat contribution to the diet. However, there are significant contrasts as well: thusequids are less important, as are caprines, at Boncuklu, *Sus*, probably wild boar, is much more important, and deer are present in regular quantities at Boncuklu. Fish also seem very common at Boncuklu. A greater diversity of hunted species seems likely, suggesting different roles for hunting, and hunting experiences. Especially important in Boncuklu fauna relative to Pınarbaşı 1 are wetland and wetland-edge dwellers, despite Pınarbaşı 1's wetland location. This contrast indicates both the especial importance of the wetlands for the cultivators at Boncuklu, but Martin suggests this may also result from the desire to protect crops from wild boar, which are notorious crop robbers. It is clear that the focus on herded sheep as meat providers at Çatalhöyük is not attested in any yet excavated part of Boncuklu. It also seems likely that herding appears after cultivation in the Konya Plain, as in the Levant. It will be interesting if the project allows us to get a better understanding of this process by which local cultivators developed or adopted herding. It certainly suggests that herding appeared as a relatively rapid event in the mid 8th millennium cal. BC.

In contrast to Aşıklı, Can Hasan 111 and Çatalhöyük, Boncuklu is clearly a settlement with modest densities of structures. The earliest sedentary- and probably farming- communities in this area were not dense large-village aggregations. This and agglutinative architecture seem later developments, not a rapid response to sedentarising behaviours or the introduction of cultivation. Given continuities between Boncuklu and Çatalhöyük, it seems we should see these as innovations by local communities as representing a distinct development of local architectural traditions and practices of space utilisation within the wider settlement environment. Why should communities in Cappadocia and Konya Plain adopt this dense and agglutinating pattern with roof-entry? In the Konya Plain, in Early Holocene wetland, where there might be a space premium on raised drier areas, one might see ecological reasons for a compact arrangement of houses, but this seems less plausible in the Cappadocian setting. Rather it seems likely to relate to an extension of the desire to have ancestors and ancestral houses close by. When the new households budded off, they may well have desired to remain as close as possible to their ancestral home. This may be a further indication of the key role of ancestors in formations of community and access to land for cultivation (see below).

An informative set of contrasts and continuities exists with Çatalhöyük. It is notable that the use of the interior space of Boncuklu buildings seems to prefigure the structured use

of house floor space at *atalhöyük*, albeit with a slightly different orientation. The north-south divide at *atalhöyük* between "clean" and "dirty" floor areas, represented by different floor plasters, different mats, presence of platforms in the northern part of structures, oven and hearths in the south, food preparation deposits in the south, and burials under plastered platforms and floors in the north (Hodder 2006: 119-122) is seen earlier at Boncuklu as a contrast between a northwestern "kitchen" area and southeastern, higher and cleaner floor areas. At Boncuklu the main hearth is continually in the northwestern part of the buildings; floor plasters around the hearth are poorer quality. At Boncuklu burials are in the southern and eastern cleaner floors, analogous to the burials in the northern clean platforms at *atalhöyük*. The painted floors and the plaster relief are in the southern and eastern cleaner floor areas, often in the northern areas of this southeastern zone, directly prefiguring *atalhöyük*. This treatment of buildings seems to have involved low frequency events likely to have expressed symbolic concerns of special significance.

It seems clear that quite specific aspects of the structured use of space and symbolic practices seen at *atalhöyük* are expressed several centuries earlier at Boncuklu. The focus for symbolic expression on the north wall of B 1.2 operates in a context of different use of space without other contrasts between north and south in buildings. This focus is opposite our presumed entrance and would have immediately struck residents and entering visitors, making apparent to both sets of individuals the characteristic modes of expression of this particular household. The focus of northern areas as a setting for more ritually charged activities within Konya Plain Neolithic buildings seems to have emerged when habitation space was structured with reference to a "dirty" area of more mundane everyday rituals and a "clean" area of other social activity, symbolic expression, mortuary and other rituals. Over time in the Konya Plain it seems plausible, therefore, that mundane rituals and more elaborate symbolic expression may well have become carefully structured and related to ancestral concerns important to household identities.

Another area of continuity with *atalhöyük* is the direct reconstruction of houses in the same location a number of times (Hodder 2006: 151), albeit the precise mechanisms may be a little different from *atalhöyük* and are yet to be fully investigated in the Boncuklu setting. Six buildings are constructed one on top of the other in Area K. These reconstructions were not constrained by the presence of neighbouring structures as the evidence for lack of contemporary structures from Area O suggests. Households thus developed strong identities expressed in the repeated reconstruction of houses, memorialising the household (Hodder 2006: 165), even in the context of low density small communities. Such practices here and at *atalhöyük* should not directly be related to its large size and dense occupation.

Intensification of domestic symbolic expression is thus closely related to the apparent fixing of households in specific locations in the village-scape. This appears closely associated with the memorialisation of the household through repeated rebuilding and thus the expression of household identities. It is interesting that this emerges in the context of a community of cultivators, but who maintain traditional wetland and landscape exploitation practices. This may suggest, especially given contrasts with Pinarbaşı where such elaborate decoration of buildings was not attested, that elements of the new engagements with the landscape and new forms of cooperative endeavour within and between households within the landscape may be promoting such new household identities. Bird-David has noted

that cultivators contrast with hunter-gatherers in the manner in which they understand and thus engage with their environments and each other in relation to the products of their landscapes [Bird-David 1990]. Bird-David documented the way in which cultivators likened their environment to an ancestor, engaging in a series of analogous reciprocal exchange relationships with spiritual manifestations of the environment and kin (Bird-David 1990: 192). It seems plausible that relationships with ancestors and land were closely intertwined and involved continuing attention to ancestors and land. Maintenance of the ancestral house and associated symbolic paraphernalia could have played a key role here.

It casts further interesting light on the development and florescence of symbolic expression. Intensive symbolic expression may well precede the adoption of herding in our region, as elsewhere. Whilst we do not know the precise nature of what was depicted on the north wall of B 1.2, and sadly never will, in this situation symbolic opposition between the world of wild and herded animals is unlikely to have existed. The only clear element of this relief is a long projection that could be seen as having a phallic nature. One is reminded that a small number of animal depictions at Catalhöyük have their penises prominently displayed, notably stags, boar, and aurochs (Russell and Meece 2005: 213, 224; Hodder 2006: 200). Perhaps at Catalhöyük the focus on wild animals in the art represents long standing concerns, part of ancestral practices that maintain powerful significance, rather than contrasts between worlds of the domestic and the wild, which are very modern concerns (Ingold 2000: 77-79).

It is also interesting to juxtapose these indications of the expression of strong household identities with equally striking evidence for intensifications of symbolic referencing of individual identities, namely decorated tools, grooved stones/"shaft straighteners", plaques, and pendants. The fact that personal identities are so represented is probably indicated by two factors: these are small portable objects, worn on the person -pendants (Fig. 14) and beads-, or carried as personal tools -grooved stones (Figs. 13, 15)-. The plaques are so similar in size and decoration to the grooved stones they seem likely to have been carried in the same way. The grooved stones are likely to have been part of hunters' toolkits since many of those we have documented were almost certainly shaft straighteners (we will discuss our reasoning in a future publication). Designs on these tools and ornaments, and indeed the shapes of the items themselves create idiosyncratically distinctive items, albeit with some common references. The resulting unique characteristics of each item thus seem to express individual rather than wider group identities; otherwise, we would expect much more commonality between numbers of such items. These personal identities were thus probably expressed in more communal settings, in millennia-old fashion, where hunters and those operating in the wider landscape encountered each other and those from other communities. In terms of the symbolic repertoire and its contexts at Boncuklu, little seems to relate to wider group expression. Symbolic representations of identity seem important in relationships between individuals and small scale lineages and at inter-lineage levels, perhaps likely to relate to rights to land exploitation in what appears to have been a distinctive cultivated and hunted marshland.

We have confirmed that Boncuklu has a sequence running minimally from the 9th through much of the 8th millennium cal. BC. In addition, preservation of organic materials is very promising and will allow us to address the questions of the appearance of cultivation and herding in the Konya Basin. There are clear indications that households at Boncuklu dis-

played some behaviours that were antecedent to those seen at Catalhöyük, notably the decoration of north walls of structures and structured division of floor space into a "dirty" and "clean" area. However, this evidence of ritual and symbolic activity takes place within a context of a use of space within habitations and indeed across the settlement that is rather different from that seen at Catalhöyük. Future excavations at Boncuklu will clearly supply us with an opportunity to investigate factors that are implicated in the development of the elaborate material symbolism that typifies Konya Plain Neolithic communities and investigate how closely it may relate to the appearance and degrees of sedentism, cultivation, and herding in Central Anatolia. Asouti and Chiverrell's paleoenvironmental investigations also promise to develop our understanding of the changing environments within which this community developed and will give us a more precise understanding of the intriguing, apparently wetland setting in which the site existed that was probably challenging for early farming communities.

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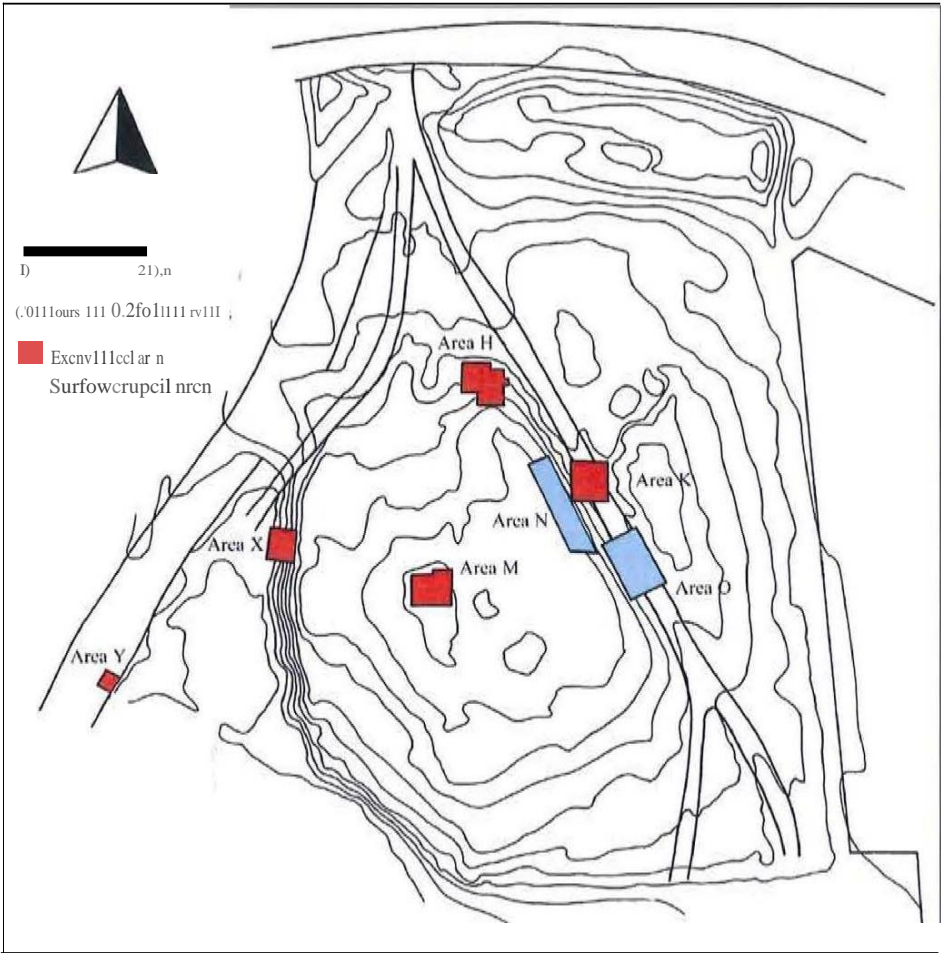


Fig. 1 - Site plan.



Fig. 2 - View of mound.



Fig. 3 - Area M
midden deposits.



Fig. 4 - Jrca M
small stone hearth.



Fig. 5 - Struclur
with slot for light
organic boundary
wall.

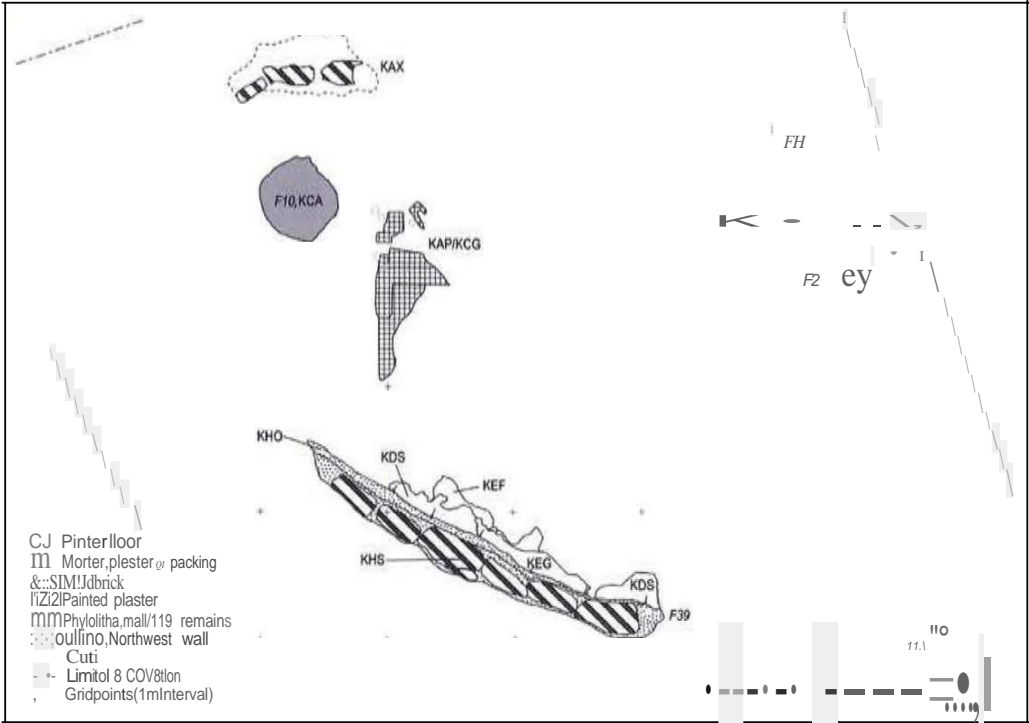


Fig. 6 - Building 1.



Fig. 7 - Postholes in Building I.



Fig. 8 - Hearth in Building I.



Fig. 9 - Cross weave matting.



Fig. 10 - Plaster installation in Building I.



Fig. 11 - Section of floors belonging to Building 2, underlying Building 1.



Fig. 12 - Late Accramic flint point.



Fig. 13 - Decorated shaft straightener



Fig. 14 - Decorated pendant.

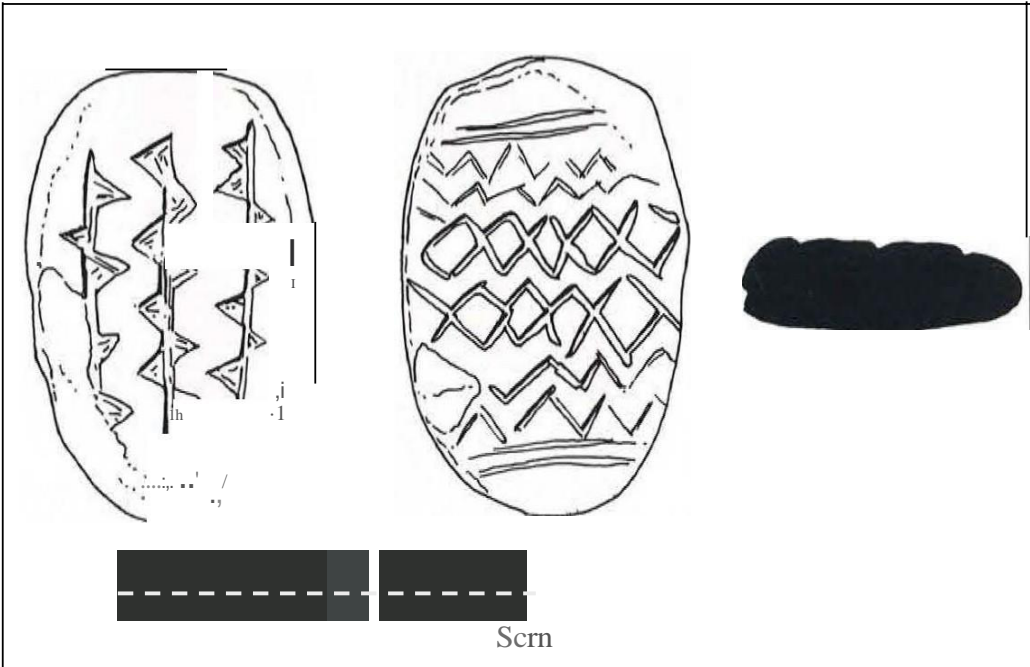


Fig. 15 - Decorated plaque.